

Message Text

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TAGS: SOPN, OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: PRESS REPORTAGE (12/11/76)

NO. 20

1. WASHINGTON POST EDITORIAL: "MR. KISSINGER'S FAREWELL."

SECRETARY KISSINGER'S VALEDICTORY APPEARANCE AT THE SEMI-ANNUAL NATO FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING ENDED FITTINGLY WITH A GRUFF REJECTION OF A WARSAW PACT CALL FOR A MUTUAL PLEDGE NOT TO USE NUCLEAR ARMS FIRST. SINCE HIS DAYS AS A HARVARD PROFESSOR, MR. KISSINGER HAS NEVER RETREATED FROM HIS BELIEF THAT A SECURE POWER BASE MUST UNDERLIE ALL DEALINGS WITH THE SOVIET BLOC. AS A GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL SECRETARY KISSINGER PERHAPS HAS PLACED MORE STRESS ON DETENTE THAN PROFESSOR KISSINGER WOULD HAVE APPROVED. BUT THIS HAS MAINLY BEEN IN THE STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TALKS (SALT), WHERE WASHINGTON AND MOSCOW COULD DEAL ONE TO ONE. IN MATTERS AFFECTING NATO, MR. KISSINGER HAS BEEN MORE TRADITIONAL.

THERE HAS BEEN NO REAL PROGRESS TOWARD THE EUROPEAN

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"FEDERALISM" MR. KISSINGER ADVOCATED IN HIS MORE SCHOLARLY DAYS, OR TOWARD THE DEVELOPMENT OF A EUROPEAN NUCLEAR FORCE.

RATHER, THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY OBJECTIVES HE ONCE
CHERISHED HAVE BEEN OVERTAKEN BY ECONOMIC REALITIES.
NATO COUNTRIES, THE UNITED STATES INCLUDED, HAVE BEEN
UNWILLING TO SPEND THE FUNDS NEEDED TO OFFSET THE MASSIVE
ENLARGEMENT AND REEQUIPPING OF CONVENTIONAL WARSAW PACT
FORCES. SO MR. KISSINGER HAS HAD TO EMPHASIZE THE 7,000
U.S. TACTICAL NUCLEAR WARHEADS IN EUROPE AS THE MOST
CREDIBLE WESTERN CHECKMATE TO WARSAW PACT CONVENTIONAL
ARMS SUPERIORITY.

THE ARGUMENT THAT THESE WEAPONS WOULD NEVER BE USED IS
ABOUT AS CONVINCING (OR UNCONVINCING) AS THE ARGUMENT
THAT THE RUSSIANS WOULD NEVER INVITE STRATEGIC NUCLEAR
CATASTROPHE WITH A CONVENTIONAL ATTACK ON WESTERN EUROPE.
BUT THIS DOES NOT DIMINISH THE POLITICAL OBJECTIVES OF
THE SOVIET MILITARY BUILDUP, WHICH IS TO KEEP A CLAMP
ON RESTIVE EASTERN EUROPE AND EVENTUALLY GIVE THE KREMLIN
THE KIND OF CONTINENTAL LEVERAGE THE EUROPEANS CALL
"FINLANDIZATION."

THE SOVIET BID FOR NATO RENUNCIATION OF THE TACTICAL
NUCLEAR DEFENSE WAS NO MORE SERIOUS THAT THE KREMLIN'S
PROPAGANDA APPEAL FOR THE DISMANTLING OF BOTH ALLIANCES.
IF ANYTHING, THE SOVIET UNION IS STRIVING TO MAKE THE
WARSAW PACT LESS OF AN UMBRELLA FOR BILATERAL MILITARY
PACTS IMPOSED BY THE KREMLIN AND MORE LIKE NATO, WITH
ITS ELABORATE STRUCTURE TO COORDINATE THE DEFENSES OF
SOVEREIGN NATIONS. AS THE KISSINGER VALEDICTORY SESSION
ENDED IN BRUSSELS, WARSAW PACT OFFICIALS GATHERED IN SOFIA
TO SET UP A PERMANENT POLITICAL SECRETARIAT. WHAT WAS
LACKING, OF COURSE, WAS ANY GENUINE MOSCOW ACCEPTANCE OF
ITS ALLIES' SOVEREIGNTY.

PRESIDENT-ELECT CARTER SENT THE NATO MEETING A PROMISE
THE ALLIANCE WILL BE "SUSTAINED AND STRENGTHENED." BUT
THE AVOIDANCE OF CONCRETE DECISIONS IN BRUSSELS REFLECTED
A FEELING THAT THE NEXT REAL BATTLE FOR NATO WILL BE THE
BATTLE OF THE DEFENSE BUDGETS. IF MR. CARTER GOES
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AHEAD WITH HIS PLANS TO CUT U.S. MILITARY SPENDING BY
MORE THAN \$5 BILLION, THIS COULD COMPLICATE HIS PREDICTABLE
EFFORTS TO ENCOURAGE EUROPEAN SPENDING AT THE NEXT NATO
MEETING.

2. NEW YORK TIMES, "KISSINGER IN FAREWELL TO ALLIES,
APPEALS FOR VIGILANCE AND DETENTE." (GWERTZMAN STORY
CARRIED PAGE ONE, EXCERPTS FROM SECRETARY'S BRUSSELS NEWS
CONFERENCE CARRIED PAGE EIGHT.) HERewith EXCERPTS FROM
GWERTZMAN STORY:

SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY A. KISSINGER MADE A FAREWELL APPEAL TO AMERICA'S ALLIES TODAY TO MAINTAIN STRONG DEFENSES WHILE PURSUING MUTUAL RESTRAINT WITH THE RUSSIANS TO AVOID "AN UNIMAGINABLE CATASTROPHE."

WINDING UP HIS LAST OFFICIAL OVERSEAS MISSION. MR. KISSINGER DEFENDED DETENTE AND VIRTUALLY EVERY OTHER ASPECT OF HIS OFTEN-CONTROVERSIAL POLICIES, INCLUDING THE MIDDLE EAST, AFRICA, CHINA, ECONOMICS AND MORALITY IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS. HE MIXED HIS SERIOUS COMMENTS WITH JOKES, PUNCTUATING THE HOUR-LONG SESSION WITH LAUGHTER.

MR. KISSINGER'S NEWS CONFERENCE AT THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION FOLLOWED THE END OF THE ALLIANCE'S YEAR-END MINISTERIAL MEETING AND THE RELEASE OF A COMMUNIQUE THAT, AS EXPECTED, WARNED OF SOVIET MILITARY BUILDUPS AND REJECTED WARSAW PACT PROPOSALS TO BAR THE FIRST USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND, IN EFFECT, TO KEEP SPAIN OUT OF THE ALLIANCE.

(PRAISE FROM OFFICIALS) THE FOCUS AT THIS CONFERENCE, HOWEVER, WAS NOT ON THE COMMUNIQUE BUT ON MR. KISSINGER'S TAKING LEAVE OF HIS OFFICE NEXT MONTH WHEN THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION ASSUMES POWER. HE HAS SO DOMINATED ALLIED DIPLOMACY THAT VIRTUALLY EVERY OFFICIAL HERE FELT COMPELLED TO PRAISE HIM AT THIS MORNING'S FINAL SESSION.

JOSEPH M. A. H. LUNS, THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF NATO, SAID "WE IN THE ALLIANCE HAVE BEEN PRIVILEGED TO WORK WITH A MAN TO WHOM THE ADJECTIVE 'GREAT' CAN BE APPLIED
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WITH SINCERITY."

"I AM CONVINCED THAT YOU WILL STAND IN HISTORY AS ONE OF THE MOST EFFECTIVE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF OUR CENTURY," MR. LUNS SAID. "YOU HAVE UNDERSTOOD THE UNDERLYING REALITIES OF OUR TIME. YOUR GOALS HAVE BEEN THE GOALS NOT ONLY OF THE FREE WORLD, BUT OF ORDINARY MEN AND WOMEN EVERYWHERE -- PEACE, SECURITY AND PROSPERITY. AND TO THIS TASK YOU HAVE BROUGHT YOUR EXTRAORDINARY ENERGY AND OUTSTANDING BRILLIANCE."

MR. KISSINGER, WHO FLEW TO LONDON AFTER THE CONFERENCE, HAD HIGH PRAISE FOR HIS SUCCESSOR-TO-BE, CYRUS R. VANCE, BUT SOUGHT TO LEAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT THE POLICIES FOLLOWED BY THE NIXON-FORD-KISSINGER ADMINISTRATIONS WOULD GENERALLY BE ADHERED TO IN THE FUTURE.

(QUESTIONS OF MORALITY) EVEN ON THE CONTROVERSIAL QUESTION

OF WHETHER HIS FOREIGN POLICY HAD TAKEN ENOUGH NOTE OF QUESTIONS OF MORALITY, MR. KISSINGER ARGUED THAT THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION WOULD PROBABLY NOT BE VERY DIFFERENT. ...

BECAUSE THIS WAS HIS LAST NEWS CONFERENCE IN EUROPE -- AND THERE IS NONE SCHEDULED FOR WASHINGTON -- MR. KISSINGER WAS ASKED TO CITE THE HIGH AND LOW POINTS OF HIS CAREER.

BUT HE CONTINUED HIS POLICY OF AVOIDING SUCH QUESTIONS BY QUIPPING THAT "IT'S TOO EARLY TO WRITE OBITUARIES AND HAVING SUCH A DISTINGUISHED GROUP OF PEOPLE HERE THAT HAVE BEEN ANALYZING MY DRAWBACKS AND ACHIEVEMENTS -- WITH EMPHASIS ON THE FORMER -- I WOULD NOT WANT TO INTERFERE WITH YOUR WORK."

3. CLAYTON FRITCHEY, WASHINGTON POST, "KISSINGER IN OPPOSITION:" SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY KISSINGER, THE ASSOCIATED PRESS REPORTS FROM WILLIAMSBURG, VA., "PLEDGED TODAY TO SUPPORT AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY UNDER PRESIDENT-ELECT JIMMY CARTER." SINCE NOBODY YET KNOWS WITH ANY CERTAINTY WHAT CARTER'S FOREIGN POLICY 'ILL BE, WHY RUSH
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IN AND GIVE HIM SUCH A BLANK CHECK OF SUPPORT?

ALL PRESIDENTS, INCLUDING THE VERY BEST, NEED INTELLIGENT, SOPHISTICATED, RESPONSIBLE, CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM OF THEIR POLICIES -- THAT IS THE ESSENCE OF "LOYAL OPPOSITION" -- AND NOBODY IN AMERICA IS IN A BETTER POSITION TO PROVIDE THAT ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE THAN THE GIFTED, EXPERIENCED KISSINGER. IT WOULD BE A GREAT PITY IF, OUT OF SOME MISGUIDED NOTION OF "BIPARTISANSHIP," THE OUTGOING SECRETARY OF STATE SHOULD IMPOSE A GAG ON HIMSELF.

IT IS MY OWN HOPE THAT CARTER WILL, AS HE HAS PROMISED, INAUGURATE A MORE OPEN AND LESS UNILATERAL STYLE OF DIPLOMACY (AND I THINK HE WILL), BUT NOTHING IMPROVES PRESIDENTIAL PERFORMANCE LIKE MEETING THE TEST OF WELL-INFORMED AND WELL-INTENDED CHALLENGES, SUCH AS THE KIND KISSINGER, OUT OF HIS VAST KNOWLEDGE, CAN AND OUGHT TO PROVIDE.

DURING THE PRESENT TRANSITION, AND THE HONEYMOON PERIOD TO FOLLOW, THE RETIRING SECRETARY WILL NO DOUBT BE APPLAUDED FOR HIS PROFESSIONS OF SUPPORT AND COOPERATION, BUT IT CAN ONLY BE HOPED THAT HE WILL NOT SHRINK FROM SPEAKING UP WHEN HE THINKS THERE IS LEGITIMATE CAUSE. THAT'S WHAT "OPPOSITION" -- IN ITS BEST SENSE -- IS ALL

ABOUT IN A DEMOCRACY.

"THE BASIC FOREIGN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES," SAYS KISSINGER, "HAS ALWAYS BEEN TREATED AS NONPARTISAN." SINCE THE SECRETARY DID NOT GROW UP IN THIS COUNTRY, HE MAY BE FORGIVEN FOR NOT RECALLING THAT JUST THE REVERSE IS TRUE. THE DUBIOUS IDEA OF BIPARTISANSHIP HARDLY EXISTED IN THE UNITED STATES UNTIL AFTER WORLD WAR II.

THERE WAS, FOR INSTANCE, A CONGRESSMAN NAMED ABRAHAM LINCOLN, WHO SAVAGELY ATTACKED THE GOVERNMENT'S POLICY OVER THE WARS OF MEXICO; AND BEFORE THAT SOME OF THE EARLY PATRIOTS STRUCK HARD AT THE WAR OF 1812. AFTER WORLD WAR I, FIERCE REPUBLICAN OPPOSITION, LED BY SEN. UNCLASSIFIED
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HENRY CABOT LODGE, WRECKED THE HOPES OF PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON FOR U.S. PARTICIPATION IN THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. PRIOR TO PEARL HARBOR, PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT WAS UNDER CONSTANT PARTISAN ATTACK FOR HIS PREWAR MANEUVERING; THE DRAFT ACT PASSED BY ONLY ONE VOTE. AND AFTER WORLD WAR II, THERE WAS PARTISAN OPPOSITION TO NATO, AND THE STATIONING OF U.S. TROOPS IN EUROPE.

BIPARTISANSHIP IN ITS MODERN SENSE BEGAN AS A POSTWAR DEAL BETWEEN PRESIDENT HARRY TRUMAN AND SEN. ARTHUR VANDENBERG, THEN THE REPUBLICAN SPOKESMAN ON FOREIGN POLICY. IT GOT VANDENBERG A LOT OF PRESTIGE WITH THE EASTERN ESTABLISHMENT AND A GOOD PRESS, BUT AT THE PRICE OF GIVING TRUMAN MORE OR LESS A FREE HAND, NOT ALWAYS A DESIRABLE END, AS PRESIDENT LYNDON JOHNSON LATER PROVED WITH THE VIETNAM WAR.

IF EVER A PRESIDENT MISSED THE BENEFITS OF A "LOYAL OPPOSITION" IT WAS LBJ IN THE DISASTROUS ADVENTURE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. HE PLUNGED IN AND ON AND ON BECAUSE THE REPUBLICANS WERE NOT PREPARED TO CHALLENGE HIM. HE HAD PREEMPTED THEIR OWN HARD-LINE POLICY. IN THE END, HE WAS FORCED OUT OF OFFICE BY HIS OWN PARTY, NOT THE OPPOSITION, BUT ONLY AFTER A GRIEVOUS COST TO THE COUNTRY.

THE LESSON OF AMERICAN HISTORY SEEMS TO BE THAT BOTH BLIND PARTISANSHIP AND BLIND SUPPORT CAN BE HARMFUL TO THE NATION. WHAT HELPS MOST IN THE LONG RUN IS CONSCIENTIOUS, RESPONSIBLE OPPOSITION, REGARDLESS OF WHO OCCUPIES THE WHITE HOUSE.

THE NOTION THAT "POLITICS STOPS AT THE WATER'S EDGE" IS A MADE-IN-AMERICA CLICHE. IN OTHER DEMOCRACIES, THE

LOYAL OPPOSITION FEELS AS FREE TO DEBATE FOREIGN PROBLEMS

AS DOMESTIC ONES. THAT, OF COURSE, INVITES SOME DEMAGOGUERY, BUT IT IS A BEARABLE PENALTY TO PAY FOR OPEN DECISIONS OPENLY ARRIVED AT -- AS DISTINCT FROM THE SECRET DIPLOMACY IN FAIT ACCOMPLIS OF THE NIXON ERA.

4. UPI (ANDERSON FROM LONDON)

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HENRY A. KISSINGER, MAKING WHAT IS PROBABLY HIS LAST MISSION OVERSEAS AS SECRETARY OF STATE, MET PRIVATELY TODAY WITH BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY ANTHONY CROSLAND TO DISCUSS WAYS OF RESOLVING THE DILEMMA OF RHODESIA.

OFFICIALS CLOSE TO THE GENEVA TALKS SAID AT THE SAME TIME THAT BRITAIN, IN AN EFFORT TO BREAK THE NEGOTIATING LOGJAM, IS READY TO SENT A RESIDENT COMMISSIONER TO ACT AS CHIEF OF STATE DURING A TRANSITIONAL PHASE FROM WHITE MINORITY TO BLACK MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA.

THEY SAID THAT UNDER THE PLAN BRITAIN WOULD CONTROL THE KEY RHODESIAN MINISTRIES OF DEFENSE AND INTERNAL SECURITY BUT THERE WOULD BE NO BRITISH MILITARY PRESENCE IN ITS BREAKAWAY COLONY.

THE OFFICIALS SAID THEY HOPED THE PLAN WOULD OVERCOME OBJECTIONS BY BOTH BLACK AND WHITE NEGOTIATORS TO THE ORIGINAL KISSINGER BASIC PLAN THAT WOULD HAVE LEFT THE DEFENSE AND LAW AND ORDER MINISTRIES IN CONTROL OF WHITE RHODESIANS IN THE TRANSITION PERIOD.

WITH BRITONS IN CHARGE IT WOULD MEAN THE POSTS WOULD BE HELD BY WHITES WHICH MIGHT SATISFY WHITE RHODESIANS WHILE THE FACT THEY WERE NOT RHODESIANS MIGHT MEET BLACK FEARS.

FOR THESE REASONS, BOTH BRITISH AND AMERICAN OFFICIALS BELIEVED THE GENEVA CONFERENCE HAS A REASONABLY GOOD CHANCE OF SUCCESS IN JANUARY DESPITE THE SURFACE APPEARANCE OF STUMBLING ALONG.

ONE OFFICIAL SAID HE BELIEVED SOME OF THE APPARENT DIFFICULTIES ARE CAUSED BY VARIOUS PARTIES ASSUMING TOUGH STANCES FOR THE BENEFIT OF THEIR OWN FOLLOWERS -- "A TRIBAL DANCE" IS WHAT HE CALLED IT.

5. EVANS AND NOVAK IN WASHINGTON POST (EXCERPT):

RESISTANCE FROM A MOST IMPRESSIVE QUARTER -- FORMER

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SECRETARY OF STATE DEAN RUSK -- EXPLAINS PRESIDENT-ELECT CARTER'S HESITATION IN NAMING LONGTIME SUPPORTER, PROF. ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, AS HIS NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER. IT ALSO EXPLAINS WHY A FORMER RUSK AIDE, BENJAMIN READ, MAY GET THE JOB.

RUSK HAS NOT ADVISED CARTER TO AX BRZEZINSKI BUT SIMPLY TO KEEP THE QUESTION OPEN AND STUDY OTHER POSSIBILITIES. THE MOST IMPORTANT OF THESE IS READ, WHO EXERCISED BROAD POLICY INFLUENCE AS RUSK'S TOP ADMINISTRATOR IN THE LATE 1960'S AND NOW HEADS THE WASHINGTON-BASED GERMAN MARSHALL FUND.

RUSK WAS NOT IMPRESSED, ACCORDING TO INTIMATES, WITH ACADEMIC EXPERTS SUCH AS BRZEZINSKI HO FILTERED IN AND OUT OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT WHEN HE WAS SECRETARY, THOUGH HE AND POLICY PLANNER BRZEZINSKI HAD HARDLY ANY PERSONAL CONTACT.

BRZEZINSKI'S EXPERTISE ON THE SOVIET UNION SELDOM PENETRATED INTO RUSK'S OFFICE. RUSK TOOK HIS KREMLINOLOGY NOT FROM POLICY PLANNERS BUT FROM DIPLOMATS -- SUCH AS THE LATE AMBASSADOR LLEWELYN THOMPSON, WHO OFTEN DISAGREED WITH BRZEZINSKI.

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